439 Yokuts baskets in exchange. There was an under-
648 current of hostility between the Monachi and the Yokuts and these traders were often accompanied by Waksachi or Patwisha as an assurance of cordial reception. They never went farther west than to the Gawia and Yokod, and four days to a week would be the extent of their stay. Women as well as men came on these trading trips, and occasionally one would stay the winter, acquire a man if she could, but return to the eastern side of the mountains the following year.[139] The Wukchumni and other foothill Yokuts did not go across the Sierra Nevada to trade. After the intrusion of white settlers the eastern side of the mountains was used as a refuge by Yokuts in flight from white persecution.

101 The Western Mono tribes northeast of the Waksachi, the Entimbich and Wobonuch, were merely called "easterners" or "uplanders" (nuta´) by the Wukchumni, while the Wechihit, Choinimni, and others on Kings River were called "northerners" (hoisa´ʾima). All tribes south of the Yaudanchi, i.e., at Tule River and southward, were called "southerners" (humtːˊnːn).

Wukchumni Villages

124 I was not able to secure anything comparable to a census for any Wukchumni village, as only a remnant population was left even in the childhood of my informants. Certain families and persons are well remembered and repeatedly referred to by all informants. Such data as I have follow. That given by J.B. may serve as an example of all such seed-gathering expeditions.

361 There were three major Wukchumni settlements: Diapnuša, Gutsnumi, and Hoganu, in order of their respective importance (Local Map B, nos. 33, 19, and 29). The most prominent chief about 1870-1890 was Muṭo´ñi,[140] who had
622 headquarters at Diapnuša, but who had a ménage at Hoganu where his son Bise´ti and daughter Wa´ohet were born and raised. One of the winatums at Diapnuša was Po´koi, J.B.'s father. When late spring (ko´toi tiša´myu) came, people thought of going to gather seeds. This would be about May after the Snake Ritual had been
221 held. The chief decided when to move; he would
166 call Pokoi and tell him to announce the moving.[141]
621 It was not necessary that all families go at exactly the same time, nor did they have to wait until the chief himself set out. But all

[186 837]

[139] While H.L. spoke scornfully of these lingerers, she denied that they were prostitutes. Casual cohabitation was a commonplace of Yokuts culture: men came and went, enjoying temporary domesticity.

[140] Consistently pronounced mutsu´ñi by J.B.

[141] In two myths recorded by Dr. Bowman a description of this seed-gathering move serves as a prologue (cf., Gayton and Bowman, 1, 89).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 143 C] Choinimni

439 barterers, with the Monachi (Wobonuch Western Mono) neighbors on Kings River above Sycamore Creek. The Yokuts considered themselves superior. Unlike the Penutian-speakers of the valley, the upland Monachi were found to be treacherous and thievish by the Mayfield family. However, with characteristic fairness, Mayfield said that this might be due to his family's friendliness with the Yokuts and that, had the Mayfields been placed first amongst the Monachi, these Indians probably would have been the friends and the Yokuts would have proved equally inimical.[3]

186 [197]

What is clear throughout is this: that utmost friendliness prevailed among all the Yokuts tribes in contact with one another along these waterways, particularly with regard to fishing privileges. While the Choinimni felt the north bank of Kings River to be theirs, between the Wobonuch on the east and the Toichicha on the west, the Gashowu were welcome to occupy their fish camp (Map 2: Local Map D) during the spring salmon run. These neighbors remained there while the fish dried, which they then took home to store. Similarly there were the most flexible "boundaries" for seed and acorn gathering. As elsewhere along the eastern side of the San Joaquin Valley, there was an abundance of fish, game, and vegetable foods; probably for that very reason, nothing was begrudged. There was much intertribal visiting during ceremonies; the Choinimni, Michahai, and Entimbich particularly combined on such occasions.

619 423 [574]

The Choinimni, for their part, were annual visitors in the Tulare Lake region, where they were hospitably received by the Tachi. An excursion to the lake on tule balsas is described by Jeff Mayfield. The visitors took with them supplies and equipment for camping. The large balsas were boarded at the edge of the hills, some ten miles below Sycamore Creek, where the river waters were broad and placid, yet full

574 484 [501] 574 502 484

[3] Ibid.

[text continues on p. 145]

535 monies took place indoors, save the inception of a pleasure dance and a doctor's debut (see below). If a rain spoiled an outdoor dance, the [794] dance would, if possible, be moved into a large dwelling. But this was only if it was purely for entertainment. No ritual was ever held indoors.

MISCELLANEOUS DATA

323 184 Pottery.--E.M. said pottery was "used by people long ago." She had never seen but one pot. This was owned by an old man (Old Dick) near Auberry, who told her what it was. Auberry [439] is within range of the Western Mono groups who may have been the source of Old Dick's piece. No one of the Kechayi used pottery, much less made it, in E.M.'s time.

276 Tobacco.--There was no cultivation of tobacco (po''om), but its growth was watched; it grew best on burned ground. When beginning [887] to turn yellow, about May, it was gathered by old people. The leaves were washed, tied in bundles, and allowed to sour, then dried and pounded. The leaves and stems of "a plant with berries" (kai'a'sni) were added and pounded with the tobacco. The resulting powder was moistened, shaped into round cakes, and dried. In this condition it was called šo'gən. The [184] fine tobacco, pulči'na, was not made by the Kechayi or Gashowu. E.M. knew what it was but thought "only Choinimni doctors" used it.

[787] The drinking of a tobacco and lime mixture was customary among people wanting to induce supernatural dreams, or those who sought good health "by keeping their stomach clean." The tobacco and burned shells of freshwater oysters (ke'wi) obtained from the river were pounded together in a small mortar, moistened, and licked off the pestle.

501 481 Ferrying.--Men and women were equally good swimmers and usually crossed the San Joaquin River (or other water) by swimming. Babies or possessions were put in a large flat-bottomed coiled basket (ta'okač) made for ferrying. A swimmer pushed this ahead of him with his left hand, while he used his right arm, elbow horizontal and forearm swinging downward in an arc, to propel himself. The feet were kicked behind, but there was no splashing. In the same way a man might hold a baby or small child on [758] his left shoulder. One or two swimmers would push a log ahead of them on which a sick or infirm person would ride astride. A two-log raft was made for an invalid or corpse. E.M. [186] added with pride that the Kechayi were all good swimmers, whereas the Chukchansi were poor swimmers.

516 Posture.--Posture was not observed, as at this small reservation all people sat on chairs. E.M., however, frequently pointed with her lips, [209] with a slight raise of the head as she did so.

[P. 175b] Kechayi Chuckchansi

796 which was a large bead-trimmed basket. This
668 basket "held the power" of the dancers, but had
[778] no curing power to revive persons who fell unconscious. The pole was not used at later [Kechayi] dances. This first dance was called ha'lo, but the term was not used thereafter.

[302 The dancers all used moiety paint patterns
616] on their faces.

The affair continued five nights, and on the sixth day they danced all day and night. At this time Joijoi, with two men and three women, dressed and danced in a peculiar manner in an attempt to convince the assemblage that they were the returning dead. The hoax, though quickly discovered, was not resented. Nor was the nonappearance of the dead resented, thinks E.M.

After their return home a few dances were held in various villages.

CHUCKCHANSI

101 wehil: Grub Gulch, a village with a cap-
tain was there
103 č'ič'ani: Quartz Mountain
t'oxolo: a place east of Raymond, at the
131 foot of the hills, on the Fresno River
kasowu: Friant (the locality or the people, Gashowu?)
nipnoači: a Miwok site 3 or 4 miles north or east of Ahwahnee

101 The Chukchansi lived at Coarse Gold,
Picayune, and as far west as Oakhurst; beyond
131 that was another tribe. Everybody at Lulniu (Oakhurst) is now dead, said M.W. The Chukchansi people went as far north as Yosemite, Southern Miwok territory, said J.R., although none lived permanently north of the Fresno River, unless married to Miwok. Southward they went no farther than Friant, Gashowu territory. If they went to a place, they came directly home again, did not go traveling around. "They don't travel very much, very far. When people go after something, when they get it they come
[152 straight home. They got home, here, this is
● 186 their home." [J.R. thus expressed the strong feeling for a home spot or locale manifest by other Yokuts. -- A.H.G.]

166 People would move around, perhaps two or
222 three miles for the summer and come back for the winter. They went up in the mountains to get berries or seeds, always going to the same place on which they had a traditional claim. "When white people came they got everything mixed up."

For pine nuts, hazel nuts, and a superior type of elderberry people went far up into the mountains. This trip was made about August and camps were established, as entire families went.

Y [P. 235b] Western Mono NS25
W
601 The husband was termed loto ʻpnam (my husband), the wife, or any woman with whom a man had intercourse, yi ʻwin. There were no changes in these terms after the birth of children.

Y While chiefs often had two wives simul-
W taneously in the same home, most men did not.
595 Sterility was the most usual reason for taking
842 a second wife, but sterility was rare. If on
837 the advent of a second wife, the sterile wife "got mad and went home," the man let her go. The majority of spouses, male or female, were not overly concerned if the husband or wife had relations with others.

W When quarrels arose, the makši acted as
Y peacemakers but, if they failed in their at-
602 tempts to make a reconciliation, they remained
586 on good terms. They did not return any of the prenuptial gifts. A definite divorce was called wai'ʻkšina. When a husband went off to live with a woman other than his wife, it might be termed katnušu ʻšya (quarrelling [husband and wife]).

W The Waksachi B.O. said that parent-in-law
Y tabus were not practiced and he laughed at the
606 idea, but his statement is not compatible with
583 opinions of other informants. He also said
586 that a payment was made by a boy's parents to those of the bride, at marriage, but he could
591 not define the amount or procedure. A girl was seldom married against her will, and afterward, "if she couldn't stand it," she went back to her parents, taking her children with her. Residence was usually patrilocal, but the couple had their own house near their parents-in-law.

W The Waksachi married among neighboring
Y people to the north, south, and west. But they
582 never married with Eastern Mono, even when a
[648] family or two of that group, having come for trading purposes, stayed on the west slope all winter. The reason, B.O. said, was "that they
W didn't want the yo ʻ'otc coming over here to
Y stay."[174] The only trans-Sierra marriage B.O.
● [186] knew of was that of X's son who got into trouble stealing horses, fled across the mountains, and settled there.

B.O. corroborated S.O.'s statement that persons with the same totemic animal could marry, but said that cousins, even second or third, could not marry. A man seldom had more than one wife, but B.O. thought "people to the north" had three or four. He cited M.L.'s stepfather (Wukchumni) as a man with two wives.
Y There also was a Yaudanchi doctor who had two
W wives; they were not sisters. He thought the
[587] Wukchumni had plural wives more often than the Waksachi. The sororate and levirate were commonly practiced by the Waksachi, but were not obligatory.

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[174] This sentiment is amusing since the Western Mono presumably came from the same source, evidently not many generations back, and probably by the same filtering process.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

302 172 and painted white stripes across it, exactly opposite to the present practice.

291 Only the principal article of women's clothing remains to be described. This was a short skirt affair (*chong-ish'-un*), made in the form of two small aprons, a small one behind and a [237] smaller one in front. The skirt was made of various materials, deer skin, tules, hemp, rabbit skin, mud-hen skin, grass and bark being reported from different portions of the San Joaquin. It reached almost to the knees. Some of these skirts were weighted by small balls of asphaltum attached to the lower edge.

While present day Indians are quite careful about conforming to the white woman's standard of dress, they appreciate quite fully that the present tendency is decidedly toward the old Indian custom. Several years ago I took an Indian woman to several of the valley schools to give demonstrations in basket making. We arrived at one school during a period when both boys' and girls' physical education classes were in session. The boys were on their own courts playing basketball and wearing only trunks. The girls were on another court playing the same game, wearing middies and bloomers, but no stockings. During the demonstration, the Indian woman sat on the floor of the gymnasium where the program was being held. The front row of spectators was composed entirely of girls, none of whom wore stockings.

After the performance, and when about thirty miles of the return trip had been made, the Indian woman said, "Ugh!" At this I listened closely, because such an exclamation always preceded a heated statement. Following a long pause came again, [186] "Ugh! White people don't wear any more clothes than old-timer Indians. All style. They tell Indians you nasty, you dirty, you don't wear clothes. So Indians *wear* clothes. Indians all die. Now *white people* don't wear clothes. Maybe Indians nasty. White people nasty, too."

YOKUTS SUMMER VACATIONS

501 484 The most unique of all boats, or other structures for that matter, built by Yokuts tribes and probably by other tribes on the Pacific Coast, were the great tule rafts built on Kings River and probably on other rivers in times past for summer migration to the lakes in the San Joaquin Valley. By residents of the San Joaquin who must spend the hot summer months at home,